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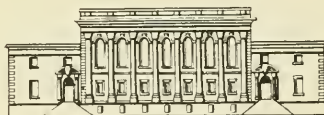


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THE ALABAMA DELEGATION: 1968-1971

A VOTING ANALYSIS

by

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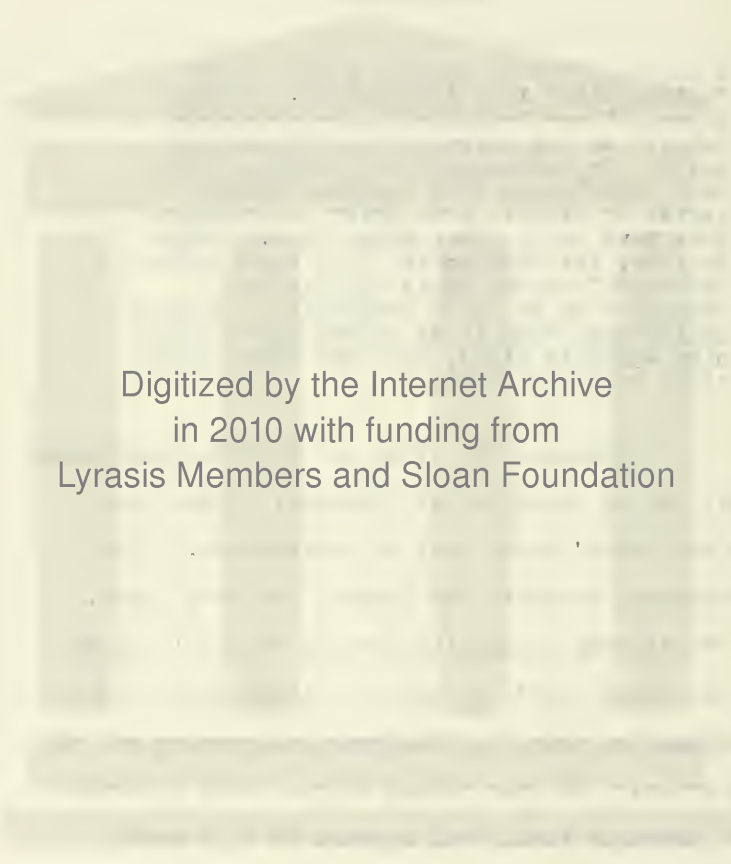


## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

A quite different type of group is the "voting bloc" in a legislature. Whether or not it can be called a group depends largely on the degree of confidence one has in the assumption that, because certain legislators vote together over a series of issues, some prior interaction must have taken place among them. Nevertheless, the very notion that there exist "cohesive" voting blocs implies the existence of at least temporarily cohesive coalitions, even if we do not know, from bloc analysis alone, just how these coalitions have come about.'

On November 29, 1972, one Alabama congressman stated, "In my years in the Congress, I have never given nor taken voting cues on legislation." This one statement provides the impetus for this paper. Does the Alabama delegation vote in "blocs," responsive to voting cues? Do specific blocs exist within the delegation which include some congressmen and exclude others? On what issues is the group in agreement? Research found what appears to be a group of Alabama congressmen agreeing a significant number of times on civil rights, educational, agricultural, domestic economic, and environmental issues. On



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these issues, two congressmen, William Nichols and Walter Flowers are frequently joined by a third congressman, Tom Bevill.

This hypothesis is valid for the delegation in Washington from 1968 until 1971. Prior to 1968, Walter Flowers was not a delegation member. In 1971, George Andrews died and his wife filled his unexpired term. His seat was absorbed as a result of redistricting after the 1970 census.

The basis for the study is a roll call analysis of votes cast from 1968 until 1971. David Truman writes of the importance they have for congressional researchers:

Roll call votes, the principal source of the patterns found in this study, have the great advantage of being "hard" data. Like statistics on elections, they represent discrete acts the fact of whose occurrence is not subject to dispute. They do not depend for their validity as data upon verbal reports of action or upon the impressions of fallible observers. Taken in quantity, therefore, they can be examined statistically with more confidence than can be granted to data whose reliability depends upon the objectivity of visual observation or verbal reporting. In Congress, moreover, the "yeas and nays" closely approximate a record of the principal actions of the two Houses...<sup>2</sup>

The Congressional Quarterly almanacs, 1968 to 1971, provided the roll call votes used in the analysis. I included votes on amendments, final passage, motions to recommit, and votes to override presidential vetoes. Unanimous voting within the delegation was <sup>not</sup> disregarded. .



At times it was necessary to cross-file votes. For example, busing of school children is included both under education and civil rights.

The mathematical calculations were done on a time-sharing computer which could handle 114 lines of information. Each roll call vote was assigned a line number; each representative had a set position on that line. Abstentions were recorded by 0; yea, paired for, and Congressional Quarterly (CQ) poll for were recorded by 1; and nay, paired against, and CQ poll against were recorded by 2. Each group contained fewer than 114 lines, with the exception of the category that was the aggregate of the other categories. That group's calculations were done on a desk calculator.

Initially, voting cohesion was measured by phi co-efficients for each pair of legislators. However, John Sprague's book, Voting Patterns and the United States Supreme Court points to the numerous difficulties phi could not overcome: (1) It is sensitive to marginals and thus underestimates voting correlations. (2) It is possible to obtain more than one phi co-efficient for which the rate of voting agreement is a constant.<sup>3</sup>

Lee Anderson, Meredith Watts, Jr., and Allen Wilcox give examples showing varying phi co-efficients for a 70 percent agreement score:<sup>4</sup>





	Legislator B			Legislator C	
	Y	N		Y	N
Legislator A	Y 7		A	Y 7	3
	N 6	7		N 3	7

Phi ( $\phi$ ) = .54  
Index of Agreement = 70%

$\phi$  = .40  
IA = 70%

	Legislator D			Legislator E	
	Y	N		Y	N
Legislator A	Y 13		A	Y 13	3
	N 6	1		N 3	1

$\phi$  = .31  
IA = 70%

$\phi$  = .06  
IA = 70%

	Legislator F	
	Y	N
Legislator A	Y 12	1
	N 5	2

$\phi$  = .28  
IA = 70%

These writers comment:

The kind or type of interpersonal agreement measured by the simple frequency count or percentage might be termed "absolute" agreement. The kind of agreement measured by phi might be termed "relative" agreement to indicate that what is being measured is the degree of association between the votes of two legislators relative to given marginals. There may be cases in which interpersonal agreement can be better measured as "relative" agreement, in contrast to "absolute" agreement, but it is not clear what these cases are.<sup>5</sup>



Finally, for phi to have a value, the denominator cannot be zero, or the square root of zero. One pair of legislators tested had a voting record of

		Legislator B	
		Y	N
Legislator A	Y	15	3
	N	0	0

$$\phi = 0/\sqrt{10}$$

$$IA = 83\%$$

This set of scores cast more doubt on the validity of phi co-efficients for the basis of this paper.

Nor could I easily order phi co-efficients. John Grumm attempts to order and cluster phi scores using matrices, identifying the "reciprocally highest co-efficients," reforming matrices and continuing the process.<sup>6</sup> The work is to be done on an IBM 650 digital computer. No computer program was given in the article. Grumm included his two formulas in the article, along with a scanty description regarding procedures to follow in devising the program. A second handicap against incorporating Grumm's method was the fact that there was no access to such a computer at Sweet Briar, nor could a time-sharing computer, the computer used in the initial calculations, handle the necessary data.





At this point, the phi co-efficient as a measure of voting agreement was discarded, and in its place, the simple index of agreement was used.

The data, once compiled, was ordered by bloc analysis. The index for each pair was placed in a matrix ordered along the Sprague method. In a system devised to order Supreme Court decisions and the cohesion among justices, Sprague orders his scores as follows:

First, find the largest association score or scores. Second, taking each high pair in turn, place one member of the pair in the first position and one in the second. Third, choose that positioning of justices which leads to the highest association score for the relationship between position two and position three. Fourth, starting with the justice whose position was last established, place next to him in the arrangement the justice with whom he has the highest association score, not counting justices whose position is already fixed. Repeat the last step until the justices are exhausted.<sup>7</sup>

Sprague's method for ordering agreement scores has a number of advantages. Two investigators ordering the same set of data should obtain the same result. Furthermore, in those cases where the procedures yield more than one order, both investigators should obtain the same paths. Second, the method of ordering renders itself to a quick inspection of any matrix to determine whether or not the method was used.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, Sprague's method is not the only means for ordering indices of agreement. Pioneer research



has been done by C. Herman Pritchett, Glendon Schubert, and S. Sidney Ulmer in the field of judicial scaling.<sup>9</sup> The main problem of how to order the matrix is conceded by Schubert:

Pritchett appears to have inferred the existence of blocs intuitively; he neither states, nor seems to use consistently, any fixed criterion.<sup>10</sup>

Both Schubert and Pritchett attempt to establish ordering on a left-right continuum, while placing judges with a strong tendency to dissent at extreme positions in the table corners. This also complicates ordering.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it appears as though Sprague has alleviated the problems encountered by Pritchett and Schubert.

Underlying this entire discussion is the definition of "bloc," the term in the quotation which opened this chapter. In general terms, a bloc is a

group of persons, often of different political loyalties, combined for a common cause or purpose.<sup>12</sup>

But what interagreement score is high enough to be constituted as a bloc? Simply because two or more persons exhibit a high percentage of agreement does not always mean that the "voting blocs" will exhibit group voting tendencies. Therefore, Sprague adds another criterion for bloc identification. His three rules include:



1. The end of one bloc has been reached and another begun at the point where the numerical value of the association scores for contiguous positions increases rather than decreases.
2. The end of a bloc should be considered as reached when the next score is less than, or equal to, half the last score chosen.
3. A minimum interagreement score must be established before typifying a subgroup... as a voting bloc. Cohesion between members of a pair must be greater than average...cohesion, and greater in magnitude than the sum of the overall cohesion...and one-half the difference between the overall cohesion...and 1.0 <sup>13</sup>

The last rule is important. The value of the criterion based on interagreement scores eliminates the identification of blocs by default. It is also possible to have a matrix in which no subgroup meets the criterion; likewise, it is possible to have more than one subgroup. <sup>14</sup>

What procedure is chosen by the researcher is ultimately arbitrary and entirely qualitative. Sprague's method eliminates some associations owing to chance and provides assurance that the bloc exists. Thus, the value of Sprague's Criterion is relatively high, higher than the average of the agreement scores.

Sprague's method can be applied to legislative groups, including political parties and state delegations. Index of agreement scores are derived identically, whether for the purpose of legislative or judicial analysis. There





is nothing unique or inherent in Sprague's method that prevents legislative application.

Nor is the information on group analysis confined to the judiciary. Articles and books range from studies based on interviews and questionnaires, to quantitative analyses of delegation voting behavior. In 1963 Alan Fieillin published an article regarding voting cohesion among Democrats in the New York delegation. J. H. Kessel followed with a similar study of the Washington delegation. Both scholars concluded that the delegation was a source of information and alliance. Barbara Deckard added yet another delegation study in 1972.<sup>15</sup>

Using more quantitative methods, David Truman's findings regarding voting cohesion have been confirmed by analyses by Donald Matthews and James Stimson.<sup>16</sup> Warren Miller and Donald Stokes have investigated the constituent influence on delegation voting patterns. They conclude:

Congressmen feel that their individual legislative actions may have considerable impact on the electorate yet some simple facts about the representative's salience to his constituency imply that this could hardly be true.<sup>17</sup>

This paper is the culmination of a project which was researched and written in the fall of 1972. The project at that time focused on the Alabama delegation and the communications linkages within the delegation, among the staffs, among the congressmen, with the



districts, and with national and party legislative groups which existed in the House with regard to the Higher Education Act of 1972 and the series of busing amendments attached to it. Prior research methods were interviews and questionnaires, both with the congressmen and their staffs. It was found that each office is autonomous; however, offices may work together regarding case work. The juxtaposition of offices played a role in determining linkage strengths. Most of those interviewed agreed that such communications within the delegation were declining. On busing, no strategy meetings were planned. Since all the representatives were firmly against it, there was no need for any meetings. Nor did the delegation play a major role within the anti-busing forces.

The linkage to the constituency was not used extensively on anti-busing legislation. Those interviewed advanced four hypotheses:

1. The constituents did not resort to letter-writing campaigns.
2. The constituents knew the congressman would not vote in favor of busing.
3. Some areas were not under massive desegregation orders.
4. The issue was not as prominent in 1972 as it had been from 1966 to 1969. Then, constituents had written.

Thus, there is a considerable wealth of information





on congressional voting patterns. This paper attempts to look at the Alabama delegation in light of voting patterns exhibited and interviews conducted. The quantitative analysis does not employ complex mathematical programs though it involves a basic knowledge of statistics and methods. Sometimes the least complicated procedure is the best.



## Notes for Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>Heinz Eulau, ed., Political Behavior in America: New Directions (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>David Truman, The Congressional Party (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>John Sprague, Voting Patterns and the United States Supreme Court (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1968), p. 21-22.

<sup>4</sup>Lee Anderson, Meredith Watts, Jr., and Allen Wilcox, Legislative Roll Call Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), p. 56-57 (note).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 56 (note).

<sup>6</sup>John Grumm, "The Systematic Analysis of Blocs in the Study of Legislative Behavior," The Western Political Quarterly 18 (1965): 350-362.

<sup>7</sup>Sprague, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Sprague, op. cit., Chapter One.

<sup>10</sup>Glendon Schubert, Quantitative Analysis of Judicial Behavior (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), p. 88.

<sup>11</sup>Sprague, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>Webster's New World Dictionary (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1964), "bloc," p. 157.

<sup>13</sup>Sprague, op. cit., p. 39-40; p. 54.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>15</sup>Alan Fiellin, "The Functions of Informal Groups in Legislative Institutions," in New Perspectives on the House of Representatives, ed. Robert Peabody and Nelson Polsby (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963); J. H. Kessel,



"The Washington Congressional Delegation," Midwest Journal of Political Science 8 (1964): 1-21; Barbara Deckard, "State Party Delegation in the United States House of Representatives," Journal of Politics 34 (1972): 199-222.

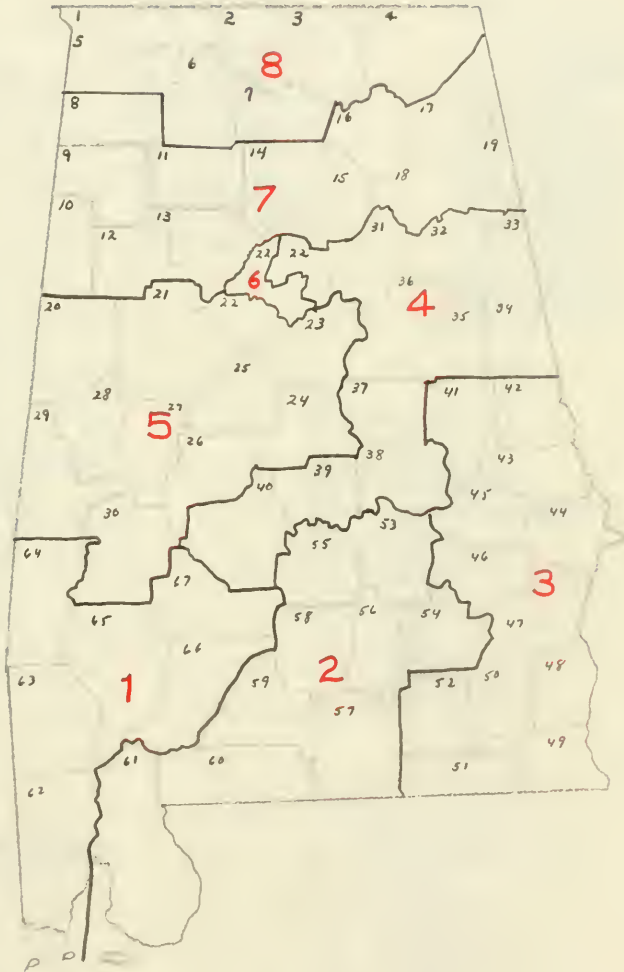
<sup>16</sup>David Truman, "The State Delegation and the Structure of Voting in the United States House of Representatives," American Political Science Review 50 (1956): 1023-1045; Donald Matthews and James Stimson, "Decision-Making by United States Representatives," in Political Decision-Making, ed. Sidney Ulmer (New York: Van Nostrand, 1970).

<sup>17</sup>Warren Miller and Donald Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," American Political Science Review 57 (1963): p. 54.





# ALABAMA





## THE COUNTIES IN ALABAMA

### District I:

62 - Mobile  
63 - Washington  
64 - Choctaw  
65 - Clarke  
66 - Monroe  
67 - Wilcox

### District II:

53 - Montgomery  
54 - Pike  
55 - Lowndes  
56 - Crenshaw  
57 - Covington  
58 - Butler  
59 - Conecuh  
60 - Escambia  
61 - Baldwin

### District III:

41 - Tallapoosa  
42 - Chambers  
43 - Lee  
44 - Russell  
45 - Macon  
46 - Bullock  
47 - Barbour  
48 - Henry  
49 - Houston  
50 - Dale  
51 - Geneva  
52 - Coffee

### District IV:

22 - Jefferson (part)  
31 - St. Clair  
32 - Calhoun  
33 - Cleburne  
34 - Randolph  
35 - Clay  
36 - Talladega  
37 - Coosa  
38 - Elmore  
39 - Autauga  
40 - Dallas

### District V:

20 - Pickens  
21 - Tuscaloosa  
22 - Jefferson (part)  
23 - Shelby  
24 - Chilton  
25 - Bibb  
26 - Perry  
27 - Hale  
28 - Greene  
29 - Sumter  
30 - Marengo

### District VI:

22 - Jefferson (part)

### District VII:

8 - Franklin  
9 - Marion  
10 - Lamar  
11 - Winston  
12 - Fayette  
13 - Walker  
14 - Cullman  
15 - Blount  
16 - Marshall  
17 - de Kalb

### District VIII:

1 - Lauderdale  
2 - Limestone  
3 - Madison  
4 - Jackson  
5 - Colbert  
6 - Lawrence  
7 - Morgan

18 - Etowah  
19 - Cherokee



## CHAPTER II

### The Delegation and the Districts<sup>1</sup>

#### District One: W. Jack Edwards (Republican)

The First Alabama Congressional District stretches from the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile to Alabama's Black Belt and includes six counties. Of the six counties, only one, Wilcox County, has a black majority. Although most of the district's land lies in the fertile Black Belt, its population is concentrated in and around Mobile, which has a population of 377,000. Mobile is the second largest city in Alabama and is the largest port city between New Orleans and Tampa. The city is also an industrial center. The Alabama State Docks provide the focus for the city's economy. Dominated by shipping, shipbuilding, and paper industries, Mobile is a blue collar city with a black population of 35 percent, a smaller percentage of blacks than other larger Alabama cities further inland. Union membership is low, as it is throughout the state. Mobile is not only the district's economic focus, however. The city dominates the political life of the district as well. In an election, between 75 and

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80 percent of the total district vote will be cast in Mobile.

The district relies heavily on paper and allied products. Both Scott Paper and International Paper Company are located in the district. Shipbuilding and ship repair rank second, followed by livestock, cotton, and fisheries industries. Chemical industries such as American Cynamid and Olin Matheison are found outside Mobile. The First District also benefits from defense outlays; in addition to defense contractors, Bates Field (Air Force) and Brookley Air Force Base provide employment. Both these installations are located in the district outside Mobile.

Jack Edwards, a Republican, was elected to the 89th Congress in November, 1964, as part of the "Goldwater Sweep," and has been re-elected to the 90th through 93rd Congresses. In 1972 he was re-elected by 78% of the votes cast. Edwards sees Goldwater as both political benefactor and ideological compatriot. The Congressman is known for his strong conservatism which mirrors the mood of his constituency.

Prior to 1964, Edwards had not held public office, but in the House he has become well respected. He has been selected as Southern Regional Whip and narrowly missed selection as vice-chairman of the House Republican Caucus: The vote was 85-82. He serves on



the Appropriations Committee as the 18th ranking Republican, and is in 27th place on the House Republican seniority list. Edwards was born in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 20, 1928, and attended the University of Alabama, receiving a B.S. degree in 1952 and an LL.B. in 1954.

District Two: William Dickinson (Republican)

The Second District is comprised of nine counties and is divided evenly between urban and rural areas. Population is concentrated in Montgomery, which has a population of 201,000. Most of the city's work force is employed by federal, state, or local governments; more people work for the government than in any other occupational field. Montgomery workers are also involved in manufacturing, finance, insurance and real estate, textile mills, and the apparel industry. The city is the site of two military installations, Gunter and Maxwell Air Force bases.

The district is 65 percent blue collar and 33 percent black. As is true for most of the state, districts have been drawn to divide the black-majority counties. The second district, for example, contains only one black-majority county, Lowndes County, while just outside district lines are three others, namely, Macon, Bullock and Wilcox counties.

Economically, the district is involved in



livestock, lumber, cotton, and textiles. It is plagued by low wages and inadequate health care facilities. Despite both state and federal aid, the district is financially troubled. According to a Ralph Nader study, Pike, Lowndes and Crenshaw counties have per capita incomes below the poverty line. In Lowndes County, over 50 percent of the population is included in this category.

William L. Dickinson, a conservative Republican, has represented the second district since the Goldwater landslide of 1964, when he defeated George Grant, a veteran congressman of 28 years. Dickinson has been returned to consecutive Congresses since then, and in 1972 he was returned by 55.3 percent of the vote, as compared to Ben C. Reeves' 41.0 percent. Reeves' candidacy was endorsed by Governor George Wallace. Congressman Dickinson is the 11th ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee and is the second ranking Republican on the House Administration Committee. Born in Opelika, Alabama on June 5, 1925, he attended the University of Alabama, and received a B.A. Degree in 1948, and a LL.B. in 1950.

District Three: George W. Andrews (1944-1971) and Elizabeth B. Andrews (1971-1972) (Democrats)

The third district of Alabama is in the south-east corner of the state and consists of 12 counties, six of which border the state of Georgia. As with most





districts in the state, the third district is essentially rural. Cattle farming dominates the upper district while peanut growing is concentrated in the lower district. The district also produces cotton. Industry is expanding and companies such as Hayes International and the Ampex Tape Company are locating there. The district processes its own textiles and peanuts. A military installation, Fort Rucker, lies within the district. Support industries, such as Page Aircraft Maintenance, are located nearby. Auburn University is also found in the district.

The district is a breeding ground for Alabama politicians. George Wallace is from Barbour County. His predecessor in office, John Patterson, is from Phenix City. The district is home to Jere Beasley and Richmond Flowers, who challenged Lurleen Wallace in the 1966 gubernatorial primary. Alabama's two black state legislators come from the third district. They have their political base in Macon County, the site of Tuskegee Institute. But since the Black Belt neatly bifurcates the district, the heavily white counties to the north and south insure that its total vote stays safely conservative. Despite heavy migration to the North, the district still possesses a large black population of 32 percent.

From 1944 and until December, 1971, George W.



Andrews, a conservative Democrat, represented the district. Prior to his election to the 78th Congress, the Clayton-born representative was circuit solicitor for the Third Judicial Circuit of Alabama (1931-1943). Andrews was an important man in the House, having served 25 years. He served as third ranking Democrat on the Appropriations Committee. Despite the Goldwater Alabama landslide, which swept five Republicans into office, Andrews ran unchallenged in his district. Had the Republicans run a candidate, Andrews would have probably lost.

Upon his death, Elizabeth Andrews succeeded her husband. In her brief tenure in the Congress, she served on the Civil Service and Post Office committees.

#### District Four: William Nichols (Democrat)

The Fourth District is shaped like a top-heavy "S." The two Black Belt counties of Dallas and Autauga are found in the south, as is the city of Selma. These two counties, however, are cut off from the rest of the Black Belt to preclude the possibility that black votes may elect a black congressman or hold the balance of power in Democratic primaries. To the north is the industrial center, Anniston, which is also the site of two of the district's three military bases, Anniston Army Depot and Ft. McClellan. The second base is Craig Air Force Base. The Anniston area is one of the few areas in the district showing substantial population growth from 1960 to 1970. The district also includes approximately 50,000 voters living in the



Birmingham suburbs located in Jefferson County.

Except for the two Black Belt counties, the district is predominantly white with the bulk of its population living in small industrial cities and poor rural hill country. Blacks comprise 24 percent of the total district population.

Economically, the district relies on the cotton and textile processing industries. It is the largest cotton cultivating district in the nation. The fourth district, however, ranks low in terms of income. In Clay and Randolph counties, for example, Nader's study noted that approximately 28 percent of all families lived on incomes below the poverty line. In these two counties, median education is also low. In Clay County, the median education is 9.6 years. In Randolph, the figure is 9.2 years.

William Nichols of Sylacauga represents the district. He was born near Becker, Mississippi, on October 16, 1918, but moved to Alabama before completing high school. He received a B.S. degree in agriculture from Auburn University in 1939 and received an M.S. from the same university two years later. After serving in the Alabama House, he was elected to the state Senate in 1963.

The Goldwater Sweep in 1964 ousted long-time moderate Democrat Kenneth Roberts, a 14-year veteran. Two years later, Nichols defeated Glenn Andrews, the





Republican. Nichols, a Wallace floor leader in the state Senate, has won re-election since then by over 75 percent of the vote. He serves on the Armed Services Committee as the 18th ranking Democrat.

District Five: Walter Flowers (Democrat)

The Fifth Congressional District has the highest number of blacks of any of Alabama's districts. Blacks comprise 36 percent of the population. Greene County is 75 percent black and four other counties have black populations that reach at least 50 percent. Taken together, however, the five black-majority counties have less than 25 percent of the district's population. These counties are rural, poor, and losing population. Greene County is one of the poorest counties in the nation.

The district's population lies in and around Tuscaloosa, the home of the University of Alabama, and in Bessemer and Fairfield, the industrial suburbs of Birmingham. In Tuscaloosa, textiles provide the economic base; in the Birmingham suburbs, the base lies in steel production. The district also relies on cotton, livestock, and lumber.

The current congressman is Walter Flowers, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Alabama. After receiving a law degree in 1957, and following a military commitment, Flowers practiced law in Tuscaloosa.





He was first elected to the 91st Congress when Representative Armistead Selden, a 16-year congressional veteran, stepped down in 1968 to challenge James Allen for the Senate seat vacated by Lister Hill. Flowers has had no significant opposition since 1970. He was returned to Congress in 1972 by an 82.9 percent margin. There was no Republican opposition. He serves on the Judiciary Committee as its 15th ranking Democrat, and also on the Science and Astronautics Committee, as the 11th ranking member.

District Six: John H. Buchanan, Jr. (Republican)

The Sixth District of Alabama is comprised of Birmingham and all of Jefferson County not included in the Fourth and Fifth districts. The affluent, predominantly white suburbs of Vestavia Hills and Mountain Brook are in this district.

Metal works dominate the district's economic activity, though Birmingham is a significant banking center as well. The U.S. Steel plant in the city employs between 11,000 and 14,000 workers. The University of Alabama's medical center is being expanded and will be a major employer once completed.

Birmingham is the major steel center in the South. However, its population has declined by over ten percent in the last ten years. Jefferson County's population for that same period increased only 1.6



percent. The district is 33 percent black. Its urban population reaches 90 percent.

John Buchanan is the district's representative. A Baptist minister turned politician, he began his political career in 1962 with an unsuccessful bid for a congressional seat. Two years later, after serving as director of the state Republican Party's finance and public relations committees, he ran against Democratic Representative George Huddleston, a nine-year veteran, and won.

Buchanan is a staunch and dependable conservative, although he did surprise many of his colleagues by denouncing the Ku Klux Klan when he was a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Today he is a member of two committees, Foreign Affairs, serving as 11th ranking Republican, and Government Operations, serving as 10th ranking Republican.

District Seven: Tom Bevill (Democrat)

This congressional district was one of the two most liberal in the state, second only to the Eighth as recently as ten years ago, according to the Almanac of American Politics. The local congressman, Carl Elliott, was thought sufficiently liberal by the Kennedy Administration to be placed on the expanded House Rules Committee. Organized labor was strong enough to play a political role. Workingmen in the industrial towns of Gadsden,



Jasper, and Cullman supported economic liberals such as John Sparkman and Lister Hill against conservatives backed by business and the whites of the Black Belt. But times have changed: Today, it matters not that the voters are predominantly working class and 72 percent blue collar, but that 93 percent of the district is white. In a district where voting lines are racial lines, the seventh district has become conservative.

Economically, the district is based on cotton, poultry, and livestock. Recent industrial expansion has brought apparel and fabric factories into the area.

Tom Bevill has represented the district since 1966, when Republican Jim Martin entered the 1966 gubernatorial race against Lurleen Wallace. His previous political experience includes eight years in the Alabama House of Representatives, from 1958-1966. In 1972 he received 67.4 percent of the popular vote. Until the death of Mr. Andrews, Bevill served as 15th ranking Democrat on the Banking and Currency Committee, and 14th ranking Democrat on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In 1971 he resigned his memberships on these committees and was appointed to the Appropriations Committee.

District Eight: Robert E. Jones (Democrat)

The Eighth Congressional District lies in the northern sector of Alabama. The Tennessee River flows





through every county in the district: It snakes through Colbert, Jackson, Lauderdale, Lawrence, Limestone, Madison and Morgan counties. For the area, the river means flood control and cheap electrical power. In short, the district benefits from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The seven counties comprise 14.2 percent of the state's population and is Alabama's fastest growing area. In 1970 the district's population reached 489,771, an increase of 27.7 percent over 1960: The state of Alabama grew only 5.4 percent.

One of the major sources of the phenomenal growth is the space program centered in Huntsville, which became the home of Werner von Braun and the Marshall Space Flight Center, and later the location of the Safeguard ABM System. In 1950 Huntsville's population was approximately 14,000: Twenty years later the city was ten times that size. A highway that was to have bypassed the city is its main road today.

With NASA established, support contractors located in Huntsville, including Thiokol Chemical, IBM, General Electric, Boeing, and Sperry Rand. As the NASA appropriations were cut back, many of these companies closed. Yet Huntsville, in an attempt to prevent the outflow of people, sought new industry, such as Chrysler, Ford, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, and Automatic Electric. These companies employed many



of the space workers without jobs, besides bringing their own personnel from the North and East.

The district also finds an economic base in cotton, ordnance and accessories industries, primary metals and chemicals. Banking is also important. The district is 13 percent black, as compared to a state average of 26.2 percent; a large segment of the black population is located in rural Limestone County. The district is 64 percent blue collar.

Robert E. Jones, the successor of John Sparkman, has represented the district since 1947. He ranks 30th of the 435 members of the House of Representatives in seniority. As the second ranking member of the House Public Works Committee, Jones has an important voice in many environmental issues. He is also a member of the Government Operations Committee, on which he ranks fourth. In 1972, he became "dean of the Alabama delegation" upon the death of George Andrews. That same year he was returned to Congress, receiving 73.4 percent of the vote.



## Notes for Chapter II

<sup>1</sup> Information from Congressional Directory, 92nd Congress, 1st session; Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, The Almanac of American Politics: 1970 (Boston: Gambit Publishing Co., 1972); Barone, et. al., The Almanac of American Politics: 1972, op. cit.; Ralph Nader, Congress Project: Citizens Look at Congress (Washington, DC: Grossman Publishers, 1972); interviews with legislative and administrative assistants and the Alabama congressmen, November and December, 1972.



### CHAPTER III

#### The Roll Calls

Within the Alabama Delegation, two Congressmen, William Nichols and Walter Flowers, exhibit a tendency to vote together in all the categories tested: Civil Rights (CVRTS), Agriculture (AGRI), Domestic Economic Policy (DEP), Education (EDUC), Environment and Conservation (ENVCON), and Overall. Frequently they are joined by a third representative, Tom Bevill.

A total of 224 votes cast between 1968 and 1971 were analyzed. Some votes were included in more than one category:

CVRTS	44
AGRI	32
DEP	62
EDUC	71
ENVCON	35

Following the Sprague method for ordering Index of Cohesion scores, as outlined in Chapter I, matrices were constructed for each category:\*

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\*The congressmen have been abbreviated:  
Andrews (An), Bevill (Be), Flowers (Fl), Jones (Jo),  
Nichols (Ni), Buchanan (Bu), Dickinson (Di), Edwards (Ed).





Overall

	Ni	Be	An	Di	Bu	Ed	Jo
Fl	92.9	90.9	85.7	79.3	83.0	78.2	79.9
Ni		91.8	86.4	76.6	77.6	80.3	81.6
Be			86.0	73.8	77.9	73.1	83.0
An				78.1	76.5	78.0	73.9
Di					87.8	81.4	65.4
Bu						81.3	68.1
Ed							69.7

Delegation Cohesion - 80

Sprague Criterion - 90

Fl
Ni
Be
91.9

AGRI

	Be	Jo	Fl	Ni	Ed	Di	Bu
An	100	95.6	95.8	91.7	83.3	63.6	77.3
Be		96.5	93.3	90.0	63.3	57.1	64.3
Jo			90.3	87.1	63.3	62.1	58.6
Fl				96.9	71.9	60.0	66.7
Ni					75.0	63.3	66.7
Ed						76.7	86.7
Di							75.0

Delegation Cohesion - 77.5

Sprague Criterion - 88.6

An
Be
Jo
97.4

Fl
Ni
96.9



## CVRTS

	Be	Fl	Bu	D1	An	Jo	Ed
N1	95.1	90.7	81.4	83.4	90.2	89.5	74.4
Be		95.1	85.4	82.9	85.4	84.2	73.2
Fl			90.9	89.2	83.3	85.0	68.2
Bu				86.5	73.8	73.5	72.7
D1					82.9	73.5	75.7
An						76.3	69.1
Jo							65.0

Delegation Cohesion - 81.3

Sprague Criterion - 90.7

N1	
Be	
Fl	93.8

## DEP

	N1	Be	An	Bu	D1	Ed	Jo
Fl	98.4	87.7	85.1	80.6	77.6	77.4	75.0
N1		89.4	87.0	82.0	79.0	78.7	72.2
Be			90.7	71.9	66.0	66.7	73.6
An				80.8	72.7	76.6	68.3
Bu					94.8	87.1	67.7
D1						84.5	61.5
Ed							73.2

Delegation Cohesion - 78.8

Sprague Criterion - 89.4

Fl	
N1	
Be	91.8
Bu	
D1	94.8



## EDUC

	Be	Fl	Bu	D1	Ed	An	Jo
N1	90.8	88.7	74.5	75.0	83.1	81.8	78.0
Be		90.3	83.1	79.3	78.5	79.7	77.8
Fl			85.9	84.4	80.3	81.8	71.2
Bu				89.1	80.3	78.8	62.7
D1					85.9	83.1	60.0
Ed						78.8	67.8
An							63.0

Delegation Cohesion - 79.1

Sprague Criterion - 89.5

N1	
Be	
Fl	89.9

## ENVCON

	Be	N1	Fl	Ed	An	Bu	D1
Jo	100	95.4	91.3	86.4	85.0	82.6	83.3
Be		96.2	92.6	84.6	82.6	88.5	85.7
N1			97.0	90.6	86.2	81.3	80.8
Fl				94.1	87.1	85.3	81.5
Ed					86.7	78.9	76.9
An						83.3	82.6
Bu							84.6

Delegation Cohesion - 86.8

Sprague Criterion - 94.4

Jo	
Be	100

N1	
Fl	97





In Congress, not all roll call votes are party line votes; hence, representatives may look to other sources for voting cues; they may turn to members of their own "class," committee colleagues, veteran legislators, or members of their own state delegations. Truman, in his study of state delegations, offers two hypotheses for using the delegation as a source for voting cues.

1. Some issues are difficult and highly controversial; the representative's vote seems certain to produce important consequences both for his constituents and for himself. He may consult other members of his delegation for there is value in the presentation of a strong front on issues of high controversy by legislators from the same area.
2. Other issues are of small importance to party leadership.<sup>1</sup>

Within each delegation clustering of representatives into smaller groups may occur. The Sprague Criterion has identified the Bevill-Nichols-Flowers group within the Democratic wing of the Alabama delegation. The question arises, what factors contribute to the formation of this group? Do the representatives vote together because of the geographical location of the districts, the socio-economic similarities of the constituencies, and/or personal contacts? Does the answer lie in any or all of these reasons?



### Notes for Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>David Truman, The Congressional Party (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959), p. 257-261.



## CHAPTER IV

### Analysis

There are 10 factors which may explain the tendency of the three Democrats to vote together: (1) district population change; (2) urban-rural breakdown; (3) Negro population; (4) median family income; (5) percentage of blue collar workers; (6) years in legislative service; (7) plurality in elections; (8) party loyalty; (9) occupational status; and (10) religion.

#### District Population Change

From 1960 to 1970 the state of Alabama increased in population, though not as rapidly as the national average. Growth within each district varied. The Republican districts lost population, for example, while all Democratic districts showed population increases. The districts represented by Bevill, Flowers, and Nichols showed no similarities in percentage change.

#### Percentage Population Change<sup>1</sup>

<u>Democrats</u>					<u>Republicans</u>		
An	Be	Fl	Jo	Ni	Fu	Di	Ed
8.3	4.7	0.5	27.7	7.0	-1.5	-0.3	-0.1



Urban-Rural Breakdown

Though Alabama is a predominantly rural state, the districts show a wide range in rural-urban population distribution. Republican districts are approximately 60 percent urban, while Democratic districts range from 11 to 67 percent urban. The Flowers-Bevill-Nichols districts do not exhibit similar breakdowns in urban/rural population.

Urban-Rural Percentage<sup>2</sup>

	Central City	Suburb	Total Urban	Rural
An	0	11	11	89
Be	12	22	34	66
Fl	15	52	67	33
Jo	28	19	47	53
Ni	1	24	25	75
Bu	69	31	100	0
Di	35	24	59	41
Ed	46	31	77	23

Negro Population

In Alabama, 26 percent of the population is black. The eight districts range from 7 to 36 percent black. The three districts have black populations that range from 7 to 36 percent.

Percentage Black<sup>3</sup>

<u>Democrats</u>					<u>Republicans</u>		
An	Be	Fl	Jo	Ni	Bu	Di	Ed
32	7	36	13	24	33	33	36





### Median Family Income

The median family income in Alabama is \$7263. The national average is \$9433. The districts have median family incomes below the national figure. The three districts have fairly close median family income levels.

#### Median Family Income (\$)<sup>4</sup>

<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
An	Be	Fl	Jo	N1	Bu	D1	Ed
n/a*	6350	6806	8271	6817	8683	6749	7305

While the levels are fairly close, the median family income for Dickinson's district is even closer to Flower's \$6806 and Nichols' \$6817 than Bevill's \$6350.

### Blue Collar Employment

The three districts are strongly blue collar, as the percentages below indicate. However, in Congressman Andrews' district, the blue collar percentage is almost as strong as the figures representing Flowers', Nichols' and Bevill's districts.

#### Percentage Blue Collar Employment<sup>5</sup>

<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
An	Be	Fl	Jo	N1	Bu	D1	Ed
73	72	72	64	71	54	65	62

\* No figure was given by the Nader Report, as congressmen not returning in 1972 were excluded from study, nor was it given in interviews (1972) or the Almanac of American Politics.



While an examination of district characteristics may provide some insight into possible factors contributing to the bloc, one must also look at personal characteristics of the representatives.

### Years in Legislative Service

The delegation may be divided into three groups on the basis of years spent on Capitol Hill. Until 1971, there were two representatives who had served since the mid-1940's: George Andrews and Robert Jones. The second group is comprised of Republicans, the victors in the 1964 Goldwater Sweep: Jack Edwards, William Dickinson, and John Buchanan. The final group consists of those congressmen elected since 1966. This group includes Walter Flowers, Tom Bevill, and William Nichols.

### Legislative Service<sup>6</sup>

#### The 1940's

1944: Andrews (D)

1946: Jones (D)

#### The 1960's

1964: Dickinson (R)  
Buchanan (R)  
Edwards (R)

1966: Bevill (D)  
Nichols (D)

1968: Flowers (D)

### Plurality in Elections

In Alabama, there is not a strong Republican Party and ideologically there appears to be little difference between a Republican and a Democrat. Aside from the Goldwater Sweep, the state has a history of Democratic



governors and legislators.

The group from 1968 to 1971 has not had serious opposition. There have been few close contests, at either the primary or general election level. All seats are considered "safe" seats.

### Election Results<sup>1</sup>

#### District 1: Jack Edwards

1968 primary:	Edwards (R)	unopposed
1968 general:	Edwards (R)	60,318 (57%)
	Debrow (D)	40,593 (38%)
	Beasley (NDPA)	4,679 (4%)
1970 primary:	Edwards (R)	unopposed
1970 general:	Edwards (R)	63,457 (61%)
	Tyson (D)	27,457 (26%)
	Beasley (NDPA)	13,789 (13%)
1972 primary:	Edwards (R)	unopposed
1972 general:	Edwards (R)	104,606 (77%)
	McCrory (D)	24,357 (18%)
	McAboy (NDPA)	7,747 (6%)

#### District 2: William Dickinson

1968 primary:	Dickinson (R)	nominated; convention
1968 general:	Dickinson (R)	60,743 (55%)
	Whaley (D)	37,533 (34%)
	Boone (NDPA)	11,446 (10%)
1970 primary:	Dickinson (R)	unopposed
1970 general:	Dickinson (R)	62,316 (61%)
	Winfield (D)	25,966 (26%)
	Smith (NDPA)	13,281 (13%)
1972 primary:	Dickinson (R)	unopposed
1972 general:	Dickinson (R)	80,362 (55%)
	Reeves (R)	60,769 (42%)
	Boone (NDPA)	4,991 (3%)





## District 3: George Andrews

1968 primary:	Andrews (D)	unopposed
1968 general:	Andrews (D)	86,796 (91%)
	Johnston (NDPA)	8,031 ( 8%)
	Price (Ind)	763 ( 1%)
1970 primary:	Andrews (D)	unopposed
1970 general:	Andrews (D)	70,015 (89%)
	Lee (NDPA)	8,537 (11%)

## District 4: William Nichols

1968 primary:	Nichols (D)	unopposed
1968 general:	Nichols (D)	94,726 (81%)
	Kerr (R)	12,427 (11%)
	Clemons (NDPA)	9,248 ( 8%)
1970 primary:	Nichols (D)	unopposed
1970 general:	Nichols (D)	77,701 (84%)
	Andrews (R)	13,217 (14%)
	Harrel (NDPA)	1,903 ( 2%)
1972 primary:	Nichols (D)	unopposed
1972 general:	Nichols (D)	100,045 (76%)
	Kerr (R)	27,253 (21%)
	Ford (NDPA)	3,392 ( 3%)
	Connell (AI)	1,693 ( 1%)

## District 5: Walter Flowers

1968 primary:	Flowers (D)	23,000 (53%)
	Manley (D)	20,000 (47%)
1968 general:	Flowers (D)	69,110 (56%)
	Donaldsen (R)	14,582 (12%)
	Branch (NDPA)	28,040 (23%)
	Simpson (Ind)	9,429 ( 8%)
	Gibbs (CN)	1,226 ( 1%)
1970 primary:	Flowers (D)	unopposed
1970 general:	Flowers (D)	78,368 (76%)
	Rogers (NDPA)	24,863 (24%)



1972 primary:	Flowers (D)	35,375 (62%)
	Murphy (D)	21,870 (38%)
1972 general:	Flowers (D)	95,060 (85%)
	Black (NDPA)	15,703 (14%)
	Radue (C)	1,278 (1%)

## District 6: John Buchanan

1968 primary:	Buchanan (R)	unopposed
1968 general:	Buchanan (R)	69,445 (59%)
	Bowers (D)	34,608 (30%)
	Wrenn (NDPA)	12,976 (11%)
1970 primary:	Buchanan (R)	unopposed
1970 general:	Buchanan (R)	50,060 (60%)
	Schmarkey (D)	31,387 (38%)
	Moore (C)	1,900 (2%)
1972 primary:	Buchanan (R)	unopposed
1972 general:	Buchanan (R)	91,499 (60%)
	Erdreich (D)	54,497 (36%)
	Thomas (NDPA)	3,887 (3%)
	Bowling (AI)	1,838 (1%)
	Scott (C)	1,412 (1%)

## District 7: Tom Bevill

1968 primary:	Bevill (D)	unopposed
1968 general:	Bevill (D)	106,132 (76%)
	Connell (R)	29,923 (22%)
	Bains (NDPA)	2,258 (2%)
	Stone (AIA)	1,132 (1%)
1970 primary:	Bevill (D)	115,108 (88%)
	Stewart (D)	15,824 (12%)
1970 general:	Bevill (D)	unopposed
1972 primary:	Bevill (D)	unopposed
1972 general:	Bevill (D)	108,039 (70%)
	Nelson (R)	46,551 (30%)



## District 8: Robert Jones

1968 primary:	Jones (D)	unopposed
1968 general:	Jones (D)	85,528 (76%)
	Hearn (CN)	16,900 (15%)
	Burgess (NDPA)	7,140 (6%)
	Pella (AIA)	1,880 (3%)
1970 primary:	Jones (D)	unopposed
1970 general:	Jones (D)	76,413 (85%)
	Hearn (C)	7,599 (8%)
	Stanley (NDPA)	4,846 (5%)
	Harris (Ind)	1,200 (1%)
1972 primary:	Jones (D)	67,440 (72%)
	Garner (D)	18,756 (28%)
1972 general:	Jones (D)	101,303 (74%)
	Schrader (R)	33,352 (24%)
	Irwin (NDPA)	1,898 (1%)

Party Loyalty

It is of little surprise that Alabama Democrats have party loyalty scores that are less than 50 percent. With the exception of Robert Jones who represents a more "liberal" district influenced by TVA and NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center. The Republicans, on the other hand, vote a majority of the times with Northern Republican colleagues.

Party Loyalty (%)<sup>8</sup>

Democrats	1969	1970	1971	Average
An	18	36	29	27
Be	33	47	40	40
FL	35	33	28	32
Jo	69	69	46	61
Ni	27	39	28	31



Republicans	1969	1970	1971	Average
Bu	76	75	70	74
Di	73	71	82	75
Ed	73	69	83	75

### Occupational Status<sup>9</sup>

With the exception of William Nichols, who is a farmer, all the representatives are Law School graduates of the University of Alabama, with the exception of John Buchanan, who graduated from the Cumberland Law School (Samford University) in 1967.

There are three former judges in the delegation: Dickinson, Andrews, and Jones. Buchanan was the Finance Director of the Alabama Republican Party prior to his election. Both Nichols and Bevill were members of the Alabama legislature.

### Religion<sup>10</sup>

While there are no Catholics or Jews representing Alabama in the House, the Protestant denominations are well-represented, with four denominations present: Bevill, Nichols and Flowers belong to three different religious affiliations.

<u>Baptist</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Episcopal</u>	<u>Presbyterian</u>
Andrews	Jones	Flowers	Edwards
Bevill	Nichols		
Buchanan	Dickinson		

These categories do not tell the entire story, however. While Nichols and Bevill were in the Alabama





legislature, they served as Governor Wallace's floor leaders. Flowers was Wallace's attorneys who challenged state election laws to get the American Independent Party on the presidential ballot in 1968. In interviews conducted in the fall of 1972 with the congressmen and their staffs, many of those interviewed noted the three congressmen had worked with Governor Wallace. They especially stressed Nichols' and Bevill's legislative positions. The Alabama governor worked closely with these two representatives to pass his legislation; it is possible that Bevill and Nichols worked closely in each respective House to insure compromise and passage of legislation. Since the relationship had existed and the two had worked together prior to the beginning of their national careers, it would appear that this relationship would continue. Both men were elected to Congress in the same year as well.

Nor should the importance of "class", the year of a representative's entrance into the House, be dismissed. Charles Clapp sees a representative's "class" performing four primary functions:

1. It is a means to facilitate the indoctrination of freshmen;
2. It provides a social outlet, a means for broadening the base of ones friendships;
3. It serves an education function, a means of keeping informed; and
4. It is useful in providing potential sources of assistance on legislation."



If one accepts Clapp's point of view, Bevill and Nichols, in looking to their class, would be looking to each other.

These two representatives are also located in the same office building. While it can be debated whether this is a factor, it is interesting to note how a legislative assistant answered the question, "Is there an advantage for offices being in the same building?" His representative is the only Alabama congressman in the Bayburn Building.

Consider the parallel example. In a school classroom if the desks are all together, the kids will talk. The only way for the teacher to stop the talking is to break up the seating arrangement. Put the kids in rows and not two kids sitting together and you've solved your problem. That's the way it is here.<sup>12</sup>

In 1968 Walter Flowers joined the Alabama delegation and is still the delegation's "freshman congressman." Fiellin contends a representative may turn to his state colleagues for information.<sup>13</sup> Since there were three groups of representatives in 1968, to which group would Flowers turn?

Robert Jones and George Andrews, as noted, were the senior delegation members. It is unlikely that Flowers would look to Jones. Their respective districts are not similar. Jones' district is more industrial, faster growing, less blue collar, less black, and has a higher median family income. While Jones' party loyalty



scores have declined, they are still the highest within the delegation. Nor would it appear that Flowers would turn to George Andrews. In fact, since 1960, the role of the "Dean of the Delegation," the most senior member of the delegation, has declined as a voting source. In 1962, as the result of re-apportionment, all representatives in Alabama ran at large. Andrews was re-elected, but the theory that each congressman was running against the others helped to create independence within the delegation. Some contact among the representatives remained, and Andrews maintained his "open door" policy to all members of the delegation. However, it was not used as frequently as it had been prior to 1962. As one of Andrews' aides commented:

It was almost as if a new breed of representative from Alabama had arrived. Sure, the door was open, but there were fewer and fewer Alabama congressmen coming through those doors.<sup>14</sup>

There were differences between Flowers' and Andrews' districts as well. Flowers' district did not increase in population as much as Andrews' district. There also appears to be a substantial difference in the percentage of the population in urban areas. Similarities between districts do exist: The black populations are close, and the blue collar percentages are within one percentage point of each other.





The Republicans constitute the second group. Compared with Flowers' district, the three Republican districts lost population, contain a higher percentage of their population in the central cities, and employ a smaller percentage of blue collar workers. The median family incomes vary considerably while the percentage of blacks is relatively close. In interviews conducted, the staff members and congressmen noted that party affiliation did not stop the free flow of information within the delegation, yet when asked if there was anyone in the delegation the congressman felt close to, the Republicans named fellow Republicans exclusively: Flowers was never mentioned.

The final group consists of Democrats elected since 1966. Bevill and Nichols were elected in 1966; Flowers entered the House in 1968. Sprague's Criterion points to Flowers as the third member of this group.

One issue links Bevill's and Flowers' districts: The proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, which would facilitate water transportation in the districts and provide a linkage between the Tennessee River and Mobile, cuts through the Fifth and Seventh Districts. Both Flowers and Bevill are interested in this project. They have spoken before committees in support of the Waterway and have co-ordinated their efforts, though the project has been delayed by a court injunction. As the terminal port is Mobile, Edwards has joined the fight.



The additional commerce and the construction of canals, locks and dams would be especially beneficial to Flowers' and Bevill's districts and would provide a basis for some much-needed economic improvement. Beyond this issue, it appears that the districts are more dissimilar than similar.

There can be one explanation for the Sprague bloc: Socio-economic factors do not play an important role in determining which congressmen form a particular group. Instead, membership appears to be based on party affiliation, the number of years of service in the House, and relationships which may have existed prior to House service. Data on black population can be excluded since blacks have not influenced the choice of representatives in Alabama. While the black population in a district may be high, voter registration drives have not been able to successfully counter the white vote in the district. Urban-rural distribution may influence only the representative's party affiliation. The percentage of the population classified as blue collar may also influence party affiliation.



#### Notes for Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, The Almanac of American Politics, 1970 (Boston: Gambit Publishing Co., 1972), p.4-18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ralph Nader, Congress Project: Citizens Look at Congress (Washington, DC: Grossman Publishers, 1972); interviews conducted in November and December, 1972.

<sup>5</sup>Barone, et. al., op. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Barone, et. al., op. cit.; Nader, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1969, 1970, and 1971.

<sup>9</sup>Interviews conducted November and December, 1972.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Charles Clapp, The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It (Garden City: The Anchor Books and Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964), p. 41-42.

<sup>12</sup>Interview conducted November, 1972.

<sup>13</sup>Alan Fieillin, "Constituency Influence in Congress," American Political Science Review 57 (1959): 45-56.

<sup>14</sup>Interview conducted in December, 1972.



## CHAPTER V

### Summary

The three Alabama representatives, Bevill, Flowers and Nichols, tend to vote together. Beyond the fact that two of the three congressmen served as Wallace floor leaders in the Alabama legislature, while the third was a part of Wallace's campaign, there is little evidence that either the group members or their staffs make a concerted effort to seek out the other members of the group. Interviews conducted in the fall of 1972 support this statement. Each office is basically autonomous, though there is some inter-office communications. The majority of the work, however, is done within the individual congressman's office. There is not enough time for elaborate communications on all bills and on all issues, though staff members usually can predict how other offices will act in response to certain issues. When the congressmen themselves are considered, the situation is much the same. The delegation, including the Flowers<sup>1</sup>Bevill-Nichols group, does not conduct strategy meetings on all legislation, though the





delegation has had meetings with state officials, city majors, environmentalists and concerned citizens regarding the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, for example. When the representatives testify before a committee, they do not consult with each other regarding what is to be said. One administrative assistant stated:

Yes, they vote alike (on anti-busing legislation), but for different reasons. But just because they vote alike, that does not mean there is strategy, or a concerted effort to do so. It just happens.

The delegation has discontinued a weekly luncheon meeting, which began when Congressman Boykin from Mobile was the senior member of the delegation. The luncheon was basically a social function where members could discuss politics if they so desired. After Boykin left, the luncheon was held once-monthly; eventually it was discontinued. Representatives did not have the time, nor did the senior members consider it necessary, to take time for the meeting. During the late 1960's attempts were made to revive it, but they failed.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the members may have lunch together, or may work out in the gymnasium together.<sup>3</sup> Some friendships go beyond the business of being a representative. Information may be exchanged, but it is up to the individual member to evaluate it.

Congressmen generally will be in the informal groups that contain similar views on the majority of



legislative issues. These groups may or may not contain members of the same delegation. In interviews, the Alabama congressmen noted that they look beyond the delegation for information. They do not confine themselves to the delegation.

There is room for further study on the Alabama delegation, 1968 to 1971. More categories might be tested, such as voting records on international economics, defense appropriations, labor support. A different method such as Guttman Scale Analysis might augment the data produced by the Sprague method. Or a study similar to The Congressional Party could be attempted. In that study,<sup>4</sup> Truman analyzes voting cohesion between and within state delegations. Such a method would expose the Flowers-Bevill-Nichols group to members of other delegations. Whether or not this group is maintained when the factor of relations existing outside the delegation is introduced could be examined.

Since the late 1950's particularly, political scientists have examined the delegation in an attempt to understand more clearly the workings of legislatures. Research done in the 1970's might focus on analysis of one delegation; such a study may verify conclusions based solely on interviews with state delegation members or on generalities that have not been challenged. One target area for research is the South, which is usually omitted from national voting studies.



Notes for Chapter V

<sup>1</sup>Interview conducted in November, 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Interview conducted in December, 1972.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>David Truman, The Congressional Party  
(New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959).



## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Americans for Democratic Action
COPE	Committee on Political Action of the AFL-CIO
NREP	<u>The New Republic</u> Magazine
NFU	National Farmers' Union
LCV	League of Conservation Voters
CFA	The Consumer Federation of America
NAB	National Association of Businessmen
NSI	National Security Index of the American Security Council
ACA	Americans for Constitutional Action





## APPENDIX B

### DISTRICT STATISTICS\*

First District: Jack Edwards (R)

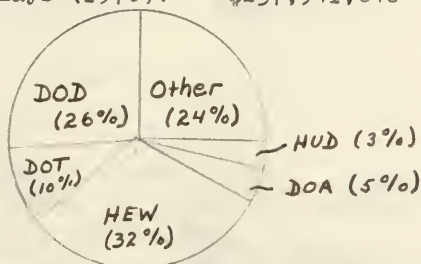
#### Census Data:

1970 population	414,048
metropolitan	76.6%
central city	45.9%
suburbs	30.7%
rural	23.4%
deviation from current state average	-3.8%
Change in population, 1960-1970	-0.1%
White collar	38.0%
Blue Collar (including farmers, service occupations)	62.0%

#### Ethnic groups

black	36%
total foreign	2%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$257,941,648



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 \*All statistics from The Ralph Nader Congressional Report, The Almanac of American Politics.



# Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	8	17	-	27	-	0	-	-	81
'70	4	0	0	31	0	44	90	100	83
'69	7	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	86
'68	0	0	0	29	0	0	100	0	100

Second District: William Dickinson (R)

## Census Data:

1970 population	384,932
metropolitan	59.0%
central city	34.7%
suburbs	24.3%
rural	41.0%

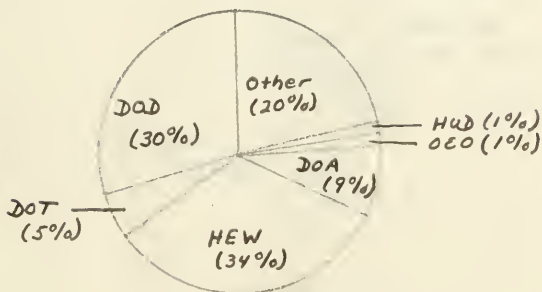
deviation from current state average	-10.6%
change in population, 1960-1970	- 3.0%

white collar	35.0%
blue collar	65.0%

## Ethnic groups

black	33%
total foreign	2%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$362,285,895





# Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	3	17	-	20	-	0	-	-	86
'70	4	0	0	62	0	44	90	100	79
'69	0	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	69
'68	0	0	-	50	-	-	100	-	96

Third District: George (1944-1971) and Elizabeth (1971-1972)  
Andrews (D)

## Census Data:

1970 population	415,628
metropolitan	10.9%
central city	0.0%
suburbs	10.9%
rural	89.1%

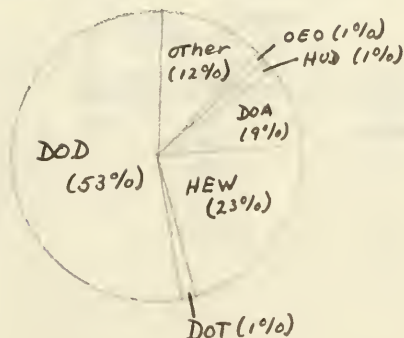
deviation from current state average	-3.5%
change in population, 1960-1970	8.3%

white collar	27%
blue collar	73%

## Ethnic groups

black	32%
total foreign	1%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$421,160,862





# Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
-70	8	36	20	23	22	44	73	100	78
'69	7	-	-	31	-	-	-	-	93
'68	0	0	-	27	-	-	78	-	89

Fourth District: William Nichols (D)

## Census Data:

1970 population	432,199
metropolitan	23.9%
central city	0.2%
rural	76.1%

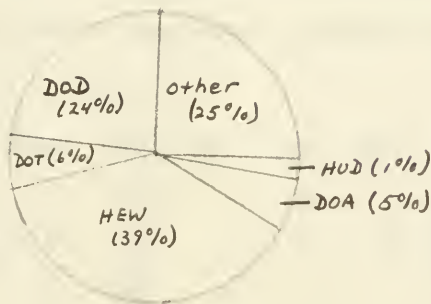
deviation from current state average	0.4%
change in population, 1960-1970	7.0%

white collar	29%
blue collar	71%

## Ethnic groups

black	24%
total foreign	1%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$297,522,000 (average outlay per district, Alabama 4, 5, 6)







# Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	3	33	-	57	-	40	-	-	72
'70	8	34	9	33	50	63	50	100	73
'69	7	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	82
'68	0	8	-	50	-	-	83	-	86

## Fifth District: Walter Flowers (D)

### Census Data:

1970 population	435,232
metropolitan	67.4%
central city	15.1%
suburb	52.3%
rural	32.6%

deviation from current state average	0.4%
change in population, 1060-1970	0.5%

white collar	28%
Blue Collar	72%

### Ethnic groups

black	36%
total foreign	1%

Federal Outlays (1970): See Fourth District Data

# Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	5	36	-	57	-	29	-	-	74
'70	8	28	9	31	0	71	44	100	75
'69	13	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	75



Sixth District: John Buchanan (R)

Census Data:

1970 population	435,907
metropolitan	100%
central city	68.8%
suburb	31.2%
rural	0.0%

deviation from current state average	1.3%
change in population, 1960-1970	-1.5%

white collar	46%
blue collar	54%

Ethnic groups

black	33%
total foreign	4%

Federal Outlays (1970): See Fourth District Data

Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	11	17	-	27	-	13	-	-	89
'70	4	9	0	62	0	43	90	100	79
'69	0	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	75
'68	0	8	-	19	-	-	100	-	100

Seventh District: Tom Bevill (D)

Census Data:

1970 population	436,448
metropolitan	34.5%
central city	12.4%
suburb	22.1%
rural	65.5%

deviation from current state average	1.4%
Change in population, 1960-1970	4.7%

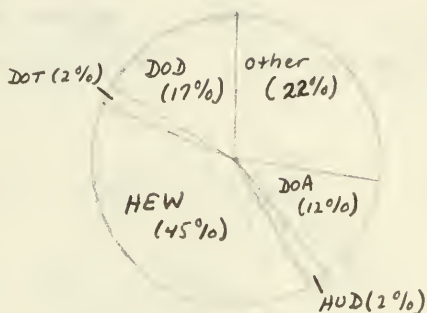


white collar 28%  
blue collar 72%

#### Ethnic groups

black 7%  
total foreign 1%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$243,161,934



#### Group Ratings

	ADA	COFE	NREP	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	16	55	-	79	-	25	-	-	61
'70	20	42	17	46	25	50	56	100	56
'69	7	-	-	46	-	-	-	-	69
'68	8	15	-	43	-	-	68	-	64

Eighth District: Robert Jones (D)

#### Census Data:

1970 population	489,771
metropolitan	46.6%
central city	28.1%
suburb	18.5%
rural	53.4%



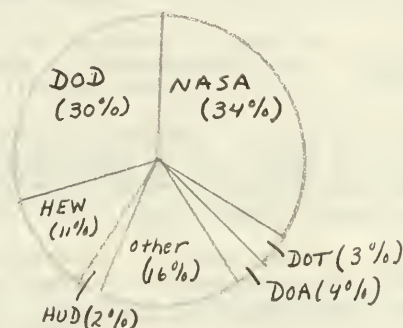
deviation from current state average 13.8%  
 change in population, 1960-1970 27.7%

white collar 36%  
 blue collar 64%

#### Ethnic groups

Black 13%  
 total foreign 2%

Federal Outlays (1970): \$797,502,882



#### Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	NREF	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
'71	19	50	-	69	-	63	-	-	43
'70	24	50	27	67	63	89	17	70	26
'69	13	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	20
'68	42	54	-	87	-	-	0	-	13





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